

COSMOPOLITAN IDEAS ON THE UNION.

WHEN that strange mixture, a northern man with southern principles, and a southern man with northern principles, attempts to thrust himself before the public, he incurs the hazard of running against everybody, and pleasing nobody. The only way in such case is to move forward in the straight line of truth. In this even there is danger that one's complacency may be disturbed; simple-minded straitforwardness being unfashionable. In the present sectional and party ferment, truth itself is liable to be taken as contraband into the court of one or the other of the parties; and it is questionable whether a neutral flag can protect the property so as to save it from condemnation.

If misapprehension founded on jealousy could be abated, and could hollow complaint be separated from actual grievance so that the degree of each might stand disclosed, little difficulty would be in the way of correct conclusion. In addition, could men in all sections be influenced to look with reconciliation upon what must happen under the laws of population and subsistence, and thus made to forego their efforts to prevent what cannot be prevented; peace might soon be restored on the basis of rationality. This is a time for reason. It is no time for resentment, for misapprehension; and least of all is it a time for timidity to undertake its accustomed patchwork. If the people of the Union cannot look things in the face truthfully, and learn to discriminate between injustice and hollow pretense of aggression, then will there be much trouble in the future, and any delay in settlement will only add to its complications.

Are we in the midst of an "irrepressible conflict," incapable of being assuaged; or, if assuaged temporarily, liable to break out again upon every ferment of a national election? In the settlement of this question, any one who allows himself to be influenced by timid apprehension will bring but a poor ingredient to the rescue. Whoever continues his contribution to the sectional or party contumely heretofore and now afloat, will do no better. If men in all sections will place themselves in the attitude of saying, "I will seek to stand on the true ground—I will endeavor to do right," there will be no lasting difficulty.

It was apprehended and prophesied by some of those who framed the government of the Union that slavery or involuntary servitude would be the cause of working its dissolution. The prophesy was made, not so much from the supposed incompatibility of interests between the slave

and free States as from sectional jealousies and strife, liable to be fanned by party contumely into maddened misapprehension.

A fruitful source of contention has grown out of the efforts of the South to preserve the balance of power. Desirable as this might have been, a glance at the incidents in the flow of population at once shows its impossibility. Not territory, but population has been wanting to make slave States. In 1850, including California, four-ninths only of the territory organized into States were free. Population stood in an inverse ratio; 13,432,245 inhabiting the free States, and 9,654,631 occupying the slave States. Another incident worthy to be taken into account is the passage of population from the slave to the free States. Estimating the excess of population emigrating North, and its offspring, not less than ten or twelve representatives in Congress had been taken from the South, and placed to the side of the North or account of it.

It is mentioned in the compendium of the census of 1850, that "there are 726,450 persons living in slave States who are natives of free States, and 232,112 persons living in free States who are natives of slave States." The truth, as shown by the tables in detail, is exactly the reverse. The 726,450 were born in the South and had emigrated to the free States. Of this number, Virginia had contributed about 184,000—Kentucky 150,000—North Carolina about 64,000—Missouri near 20,000—Maryland 72,000—Delaware near 7,000, and Tennessee over 50,000. If the whole emigration from the slave to the free States since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, together with its offspring, be taken into the account, there will be found near two millions of people of southern extraction now inhabiting the free States. This equals half the slave population of the South. It exceeds by several hundred thousands the slaveholders and their families, including all persons having proprietorship in slavery.

By a careful analysis of the census statistics it will be perceived that the flow of the southern non-slaveholding population has been to the west and north-west—that slaves, in a nearly equal ratio, have gone to the west and south-west. Under this drain, South Carolina has increased her white population but fifty per cent. in sixty years, whilst her black population has nearly trebled. It now remains for the statesmen of that State to consider whether they have not too much indulged in the Aristotelian doctrine of "caste and class," and whether by so doing, the political, or governing element has not been too far theorized out of the State. Had that State adopted the policy of retaining its white population, the same as Maryland, and put it to the like useful pursuits of commerce and mechanism, perhaps she would now have felt her strength, and been as little inclined to contumacy. She is now overshadowed with a black cloud in the character of her servile population. Her pride and chivalry remain, but her strength has measurably departed. Perhaps it may be well for South Carolina to consider whether it will be best to repudiate that union and that strength, which may still be her strength; and whether she will act wisely and well to sever that bond which is still competent for the protection of all.

There seems to have been a growing jealousy with the slaveholding interests, lest the slave States "should be hemmed in," and the institution be "crushed out" for the want of profitable room to expand or stand on. Without discussion as to whether this apprehension is deceptive, it would be quite as well to look to the possibility of making any political arrangement whereby the laws or incidents of population and subsistence, can be shaped out of their natural course in the future. Any one who attempts to cypher on this subject, must look to the whole surroundings, and make a calculation for all sides, lest he find himself at random, and the sum require to be done over again.

Estimate the increase of population for the last decade at thirty-five per cent. This gives thirty-one and a half millions. At the same ratio of increase, there would be three millions eight hundred and twenty-five thousand slaves. Three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, with the addition of their families, may be approximately estimated at seventeen hundred thousand. This would leave in the southern states not far from seven and one half millions of white population, disconnected in proprietorship with the institution of slavery. Add to this latter item the eighteen and one half millions in the free states. This would swell the free labor population to twenty-six millions. Here then, we find the great bulk of the voting, governing element of the Union. This twenty-six millions with its increase, must have an abiding place—so must the seventeen hundred thousand, with its increase—and so of the black population connected with it.

It would not be possible for even the slaveholding population of the South to support itself without much personal labor. The negroes are not competent, and never have been, to support themselves, and the half of a white person, on the average. Much less are they competent to support the other seven and one-half millions. This population must support itself, educate its children, and make its own way in the scale of existence. It cannot be pensioned upon the produce of slave-labor. Some portion of it may become slave owners, but the ratio of increase in the non slaveholding population will not be lessened by any turn in the wheel of fortune. It will ever meet the stern necessity of subsistence through its own industry. So of the whole northern population—and so, of humanity at large.

"Equality in the Union, or independence out of it"! What is the meaning of this term; and, what equality is referred to? Is it intended to declare that slavery shall have representation beyond ratio? That would be a simple fallacy. Is it intended to declare that slavery shall go upon the territories where slaveholders please to take it, irrespective of the recommendations which slavery could carry with it? Suppose Mr. Seward should forego his "irrepressible conflict," and he, with the leaders of the Republican Party should sit down in conclave with the slavery propagandists—suppose further, that they should for once forego party contumely, and use their best endeavors to devise a plan for extending slavery, and to bind the country to an observance of a compact? Here would be, staring them in the face, a twenty-six-

million power of free labor. The vision would swell its prospect into a fifty-million power in twenty-three years. The contemplation of this vast political strength, and governing power, would break up the Convention. Its puerility would find vent in the declaration, "We could not if we would"! Twice ten-million voices would respond, "You should not, if you could"!!

"The South! The South"!! What is meant by this term? One would imagine from the manner in which the word has been treated, that it was a country governed by an exclusive negro policy; where nothing was cared for, nothing regarded, nothing made the subject of political solicitude but the master and his servants. It is spoken of as if there was no element in the South that had, or could have natural, social, or political affinities with the free labor, and the destinies of free labor in the country at large. It is even thought to be good policy, and expedient in some quarters, to set this element at variance with its natural political fellowship in the free States; and, to make it an instrument in assisting to dissolve the Union. Suppose this to be accomplished; what security will slaveholders have gained by the arrangement? Will distrust, and envy, and jealousy of their wealth, their monopoly of good land, and monopoly of force to work it, be lessened? Will this seven and one-half millions, or, this thirty millions, forty-six years hence, be contented with an exclusive pro-slavery policy; and, more especially, if that policy be a narrow one, that shall overlook its great interests? At present, there is room enough for all. Under sound policy, there will be for the next hundred years. Can any one, therefore, prove it to be wise to excite hatred, anarchy, and revolution, in order to break up a government, most noted of all for common protection?

If people are persuaded that revolution is the remedy for ills, fancied or real, and that a good excuse now exists, they will perhaps be as inventive of reasons for breaking up the new confederacy. It will be composed of the same elements of free, and slave labor; and its governing public opinion be manufactured through its stomach. Prejudicial disparities, if they exist, will be as much digested through this organ as bread and meat. The only advantage the new government would have in its principles of duration, would arise from the fact, that cooler, wiser, more sagacious, and more patriotic men than those who formed the old government, had the framing of the new—men, who were more competent to take in all the surroundings, and to make certain all arrangements for future population. Before actual dissolution is tried, would it not be well to bring out the plan and organization of the new government through the instrumentality of a "moot court"? In this way, opportunity would be afforded for examination and analysis. All the Hamiltons, Madisons, and Jays, in the land could put their heads together and write a new Federalist. In the meantime, let the old government stand, and the business of the country go on under it, until clearly demonstrated that an improvement could be made.

Involuntary servitude has been the theme of discussion both in this

country and Europe for the last hundred years. Had we nothing but the white race, the discussion would soon end:—but, we have an element in population, the ancestry of which was brought here as property. This element, however much men may deplore, or affect to deplore its introduction, must of necessity continue to be the subject of consideration with the whole American people. It cannot be otherwise, whether it remains in or goes out of the Union. This institution, originating in the law of force, now rests upon the foundation of master and servant, as established by law. In the maintenance of this relationship, the obligations of humanity and duty have been established and enforced by those having the control of legislation in the several States. To such extent have the evils of slavery been assuaged, that it now has the tolerating assent of the American people. It commands this guaranty for its continuance; the duration depending upon the wise discretion that shall be thrown around it.

It would be fool-hardy to dispute, that every human being has the right to “life,”—“the pursuit of happiness”; and, to every wholesome privilege, consistent with circumstances, necessary to give effect to the last proposition. Anything not founded in principles of fair reciprocity cannot hope to receive, at this day, the assent of cultivated intellect or sensibility. The duration of any institution, government, or exercise of authority, will be measured by the degree of justice that is interwoven into its relationships. This principle, implanted in the nature of things, attaches as much to the relation of master and servant as to anything else. If any one doubt it, let him look at the millions, and yearly increasing millions of human beings now in servitude:—let him contemplate this increase through a few decades until it swells in prospect to thirty or forty millions; surrounded by, mixed up with, and ramified with republican institutions, and republican sentiment. Who, that has any sagacity, but must know, that it is to be governed more and more in the future, by the consent of the governed; and, that amelioration will become more and more necessary to promote content, and to command the assent, toleration, and assistance of the governing political force of the whole country. Short-sightedness on this subject, if it prevail, will assuredly rue the day that it neglected to think, and to think liberally; or, to act wisely and well.

Negro philanthropy! There is not half enough of the genuine, wholesome commodity; but a thousand times too much of ill-judging, intermeddling sentimentality. Harvard University has brewed rhetoric enough to have ameliorated all the harsh incidents of slavery in America, had it been of the right kind, and in the right direction. “We must strike high for principle,” says diseased philanthropy. Very well—but in striking high, why mistake the negro kitchen as the appropriate place in which to elucidate the principles of good government? If any one has suggestions to make, let him address himself in a proper manner to the governing power, whose vocation it is to make laws and regulations; and whose interest it is to have none but wholesome ones. The slaveholders in the main, are the governing power,

politically, as well as individually, over this industrial institution. They are generally men of education; possess and exhibit a due proportion, and fair ratio of cultivation, thinking, and philosophic reasoning. Their opportunities for observing, experimenting, concluding, and acting, cannot be less than those at a distance.

If any one wishes for accurate information on the subject of negro slavery, he will not obtain it through the distorted statements of those having the motive to distort; nor, through the rank and nauseous practices of ruffianism that have been engendered by vituperation, retaliation, and another still more baneful cause. Let him go among the planters in the right spirit—let him say to them,—“I have heard much said and contradicted respecting this institution—I have come to satisfy myself by a personal examination.” He will be shown over the plantation, and permitted to see it as it is. He will be taken to neighboring plantations, and conducted from one to another as far as he pleases to go. He may travel over the whole country, and receive hospitable treatment. He will find slaveholders peculiarly anxious to point out to him all the improvements in feeding, clothing, housing, and making the servants comfortable, as well as in making their labor productive. If he happen to run on any thing wrong, or much out of the way, the planter will be mortified at it; whilst he will delight in showing the better side of things. The man of sense and liberality may readily discover, by implication, the right reasoning in the mind of the slaveholder. He may learn, that, as amongst slaveholders, remissness in the care of servants, inhumanity, and brutality, are opprobrious. He will learn that bright examples in slaveholding are regarded as the strength and argument for upholding the institution:—that these, like all other good things, are the basis of toleration and respect; and, that bad examples are but a weakening force. The Southern mind, as elsewhere, will be found sensitive and alive to the idea, that justice and humanity only can impart strength and duration to the dominion, where the government of man by man is to be maintained.

How can the comfort and happiness of the black population of the South be best promoted? This is a fair question; but, a question nevertheless, which narrow-mindedness is incompetent to answer. Take away the platform of diligent industry, and it would lack the means of subsistence. Take from it the feature of compulsory labor, and the war of races would immediately commence. Servitude, indeed, might be exchanged for anarchy, but it would be an anarchy maddened and heightened by the partialities of race, and prejudice of color. Wrench the relationship of master and servant, and how long would it require, and what would be the process in re-constructing society out of the same materials?

These are questions which must be taken in connection with known facts in the history of southern production, and in the establishment of this branch of southern political economy. Whilst the surpluses at the North have gradually been absorbed in the engagements of com-

merce and the mechanic arts, the South has been compelled by still more controlling circumstances to absorb the great bulk of its surpluses in the increase of this agricultural force. Whoever contemplates the growth and increase of this negro population, will see clearly, that the same necessity at the South is as strong now, as heretofore; and, that the same will continue with redoubled force under the law of increase. This increase will continue to make the first call for the investment of Southern surpluses, and it will have but little beyond, wherewith to engage in commerce, manufactures, or foreign adventure.

A large amount of northern capital has already been disintegrated from the pursuits of agriculture. It has raised up a large array of skilled labor. It is obliged from necessity to convert its rocks, its ice, and its running streams into sources of income. It is, in a measure, compelled to travel over the globe, seeking out new channels for enterprise, in order to add to its means of subsistence. Southern commerce, southern mechanism, and southern improvements have, to much extent, disclosed the presence of northern capital, skill, and experience in their operations; thus more strongly elucidating the past, present, and future direction of southern surpluses. It equally discloses the motive of tenacity in the South for maintaining, unimpaired, its basis of production; in other words, its great auxiliary in the means of subsistence.

With respect to this industrial force of the South, there are sentimentalities of two kinds that have been brought to bear in affecting it and its relationships. If the institution is to be attacked under the declaration of war, founded on the assumption that it is, in and of itself, "the sum of all iniquities," then will these philanthropists continue to make their calculations on such war footing. The following extract from a late Thanksgiving sermon affords an epitome of the views of this class of sentimentalists:

"I do not pronounce the southern people to be a barbarous people; I say nothing about them; I make no charge. If the things that are done there were done here, I should say they were barbarous. I may not know. I do, however, unhesitatingly say that the distinctive idea of the Free States is an element of Christian civilization, and that of the South is barbaric; and that the real conflict in this nation to-day is between Barbarism and Civilization. The one is like a pure white alabaster box, full of all purities and refinements; the other is like Pandora's box, full of all evils and black, black wickedness. The conflict, then, has come; and it is my business to keep you in the ranks, and to see that you are inspired to fight with heroism."

Suppose the eminent divine who got off the above should take that northern side of society, which is to become, in his mind, "like a pure white alabaster box, full of all purities and refinements." Let him exhibit it, through his family taste for literature, by a presentation of its sore spots. Could not our legislators be made to appear like political thieves? our courts of justice more than questionable in their integrity?

our merchants and tradesmen to be actuated by no higher motive than the sin of covetousness? our women prostitutes, and the land filled with vice, ignorance, and crime? Possibly money could be made out of it. In the present state of illiberal ferment it might have a sale at the South. If a foreigner, however, who had been instructed through this presentation, should come to see this mass of human degradation and moral depravity, he would be astonished,—not with the apparent depravity, but with the excellence of our condition. Looking about, he would exclaim—"I see nothing but evidence of splendid progress! I see homes—homes that look happy everywhere! I observe a grand educational system—children nearly all at school—the people well dressed—men substantial—women refined—boys sprightly—children promising; and, on the whole, admirable! Evils, of course, there must be, but not remarkable in the comparison."

Another foreigner comes. With a copy of the Beecher literature in his hand he visits the South, in order to chase down and make a note of the physical dilapidation and moral delinquencies of that section. In his whole course he would be coming in contact with cultivated society. Pleasant farms and plantations everywhere spread out—railroads ramifying the States—telegraphs, to accelerate intelligence—colleges and schools established, and a general educational system prevailing—commerce, neither languishing nor wanting in the elements to sustain it—a people disposed to order and morality everywhere found. He would also find a vast industrial force of African ancestry—taken from the most barbarous races of that country, and disciplined by industry and practical knowledge into such degree of civilization that individuals, in some quarters, desire to have it emancipated and set to voting. Such foreigner would be astonished at the difference between the picture and the reality.

The present state of the public mind, growing out of unmerited aspersion and retaliation, should admonish all of the gross impropriety of such course. This habit has had no origin in kindness. It is as much removed from good taste as the blackguard is from the gentleman. Flies light upon sore spots and deposit their larva. Rhetorical aspersion may breed its intellectual maggots until the festering sore ceases to be endurable. Billingsgate will be Billingsgate still, whether it be pulpit-refined, or whether it be exhibited at the southern hustings. Cast about, and let any one who can delineate the advantage resulting from this cross-fire of vituperation. What evil has been assuaged? What moral or intellectual good has been accomplished? What have agriculture, commerce, or mechanism gained by it? And, on the other hand, how far have the amenities between States been broken down, and intercourse between them made unpleasant and distasteful? Answer it who can.

No society yet established, or existing, in any country, has become so free from defects or infirmities as to be exempt from irritating criticism. If literature, the pulpit, or the press of our country, see fit to indulge its taste in parading the defects, follies, or idiosyncracies of the

people of another section, with a view of subserving party purposes, or of holding them up to contempt or ridicule, nothing can be expected from such course but retaliation. Resentment, in such cases, springs from the best feelings of nature. Sensitive minds seldom allow the affections of nativity to be blunted. They must and will cherish a warm regard for the country that gave birth to and nourished them. The poet, in the following lines, has truthfully delineated the attachments of nativity :

“ And yet, perhaps, if countries we compare,
And estimate the blessings which they share,
Though patriots flatter, still shall wisdom find
An equal portion dealt to all mankind.
The shudd’ring tenant of the frigid zone
Boldly proclaims that happiest spot his own,
Extols the treasures of his stormy seas,
And his long nights of revelry and ease.
The naked negro, panting at the line,
Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine;
Basks in the glare, or stems the tepid wave,
And thanks his Gods for all the good they gave.
Dear is the Alpine shed to which the soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
And as a child, whom scaring sounds molest,
Clings close and closer to its mother’s breast,
So the loud torrent and the whirlwind’s roar
But bind him to his native mountains more.
And such the patriot’s boast, where’er we roam,—
His first, best country ever is at home.”

There are two things dear to every man’s heart. It matters not what may be the weaknesses or the faults of either; humanity will not allow its mother or its country to be disparaged. No one can trench with impunity on this sacred ground.

Let us inquire—has this feeling of native attachment, commendable to the last degree in its proper indulgence, blunted our vision in the broader contemplation? Has narrowness of mind become so chronic, or patriotism so near-sighted, that we cannot look beyond neighborhood or State? Despite partiality or prejudice, incidents will occasionally carry us to the higher point of appreciative vision. When the gallant American demanded the Hungarian refugee in the Mediterranean, in whose name did he speak? “Do you ask the protection of the UNITED STATES?” “Yes!” A word, and the double-headed eagle of Austria drooped before the high behest of the STARS AND THE STRIPES. The voice of the young Carolinian was potential, when he spoke in the name of his great country and its sympathising millions. Should not this incident admonish the sons of the Palmetto State, the Granite, the Keystone, and she of the Lone Star, and all their Sisters, that we ALL have this great country, whose voice and justice may be rendered more and still more potential? A country expanding from ocean on the East to ocean on the West—that warms one hand in the torrid regions of the South, whilst it extends the other to the ice-bound regions of the North. Will we not soon be prepared to say, with significant emphasis,

to the people of the world, "*We are your friends*"? to the potentates of the earth, "Whilst we acknowledge the existence of your governments, we accord them respect in just proportion to their beneficence?"

However strong or abiding the preferences of each State for its own local institutions, there has been but little disposition by the respective States to interfere with each other. The General Government, in the main, has been sedulous to avoid offense. Delicate as its position has often been, viewed in disconnection with party jealousy and party ambition, its administration will appear to have aimed at impartiality. The people, as a whole, have manifested a fair disposition towards each State, and as much so towards the southern States as towards the northern. The mutual complaints of aggression are in the main unfounded, and exist more in speculation than in reality. The institution of slavery, or interest connected with it, has made the loudest complaints as to threatened insecurity. Look to the past and present public opinion on that subject. The common sentiment of the voting, governing power of the Union is, that slavery in the southern States, as it exists, should not be interfered with:—that under existing circumstances there is no way of either wisdom or prudence, but to allow the institution to remain until the southern States, each for itself, governed by its own motives of policy, shall see fit to make the change. This is the sentiment of the whole South. With the exception of a few abolitionists, it is the sentiment of the whole political force, North and South, that voted against Mr. Lincoln. It is the expressed sentiment and declaration embodied in the fourth article of the Republican platform, and, in relation to which, no language could be more explicit. Here we have the programme; an exhibition of assent from the governing political force of every State, accompanied with the declaration that this industrial institution should remain exempt from molestation.

The provision of the Constitution requiring the surrender of fugitives from service, when properly considered, has as much of the essence of humanity as policy. Involuntary servitude being legitimated by the whole governing power, it follows that all disturbing causes, that produce nothing but evil, should be removed. When it can be shown that renegade negroes, renegade apprentices, or, renegade boys brought up in idleness, and undisciplined to habits of labor through diligent industry, are more moral, or more profitable to their masters, or satisfactory to their parents, or more useful to society, it will be necessary to alter the methods of reasoning founded on experience. Upon close, and closer examination, and by contemplating the whole of what surrounds this subject, the enlightened conscience may find refuge in the certainty that privileges will be established and meted out to servants in such proportion as they can be accorded with safety. The extent to which ameliorating regulations and modifications can be carried, will depend much upon the fact, as to how far the motive to renegadism is taken away. To carry out a fair and just system of amelioration, so as to remove as far as possible the harsh incidents of servitude, and along with them, the distrustful jealousy of slaveholders, requires the firm co-operation of the whole political force of the country. The time has come when it

would be profitable for all to consider with calmness what should be done on all sides. There must be a true ground on which all ought to stand. What is it? Good sense, perhaps, might answer in few words.

Examine into the motives of our governing population in the aggregate; and how few do we find who wish to aggravate the ranklings of sectionalism, with intent to place them beyond cure? How diminutive and even contemptible their number. Look to the side of those who can ill afford to be disturbed in their vocation, their interest, their quiet, or in their national patriotism. Of what use would revolution, rebellion, or anarchy be to them? They need, and notwithstanding the sedition in the land, will have, and will insist on having the potency of a name, whose ensign shall give national, as well as State and individual security, without the necessity or expense of standing armies. Look to the contingencies of war—war that may come through jealousy excited by the growth of Republican institutions. In the conflict of principle, what guaranty have we in avoiding it, but the potency of a name, and a union? Look to the overshadowing and still growing strength of the great powers of Europe, and then at the small powers, having political existence, as if tenants by sufferance. What guaranty have these small powers other than the disagreement of the great powers as to the partition. Should any fragment of our Confederacy be disintegrated, who knows how soon it might be coveted as a waif by the hand of some mighty power? What protection would it then have, but to fall back on the generosity of the sisters from whom it had sought to estrange itself?

Without discussing in this place the question as to whether a dissolution of the Union is possible without civil war, or detailing the accumulated, and ever accumulating inconveniences, of all parts under political separation, let us suppose the Union dissolved by the common consent of the States. Admit that a southern confederacy may be formed;—further, imagine that it is formed; that its government has gone into operation, with all the territory and population, more or less, that could be induced to absolve itself from the old compact, and go into the new one. In what way could it better its industrial, social, or political condition?

Let us presuppose that the only contest between the two confederacies is to be the race of emulation in prosperity. It would then remain to be decided as to which could draw to itself, by its liberalized policy, the greatest political or governing power, and consequently the greater strength; the greater enterprise through its capital, commerce, and population, in settling new States and developing their resources; which could best supply its own increasing domestic wants by raising new occupations for skilled labor; in other words, which could be made the best platform for diversified industry to exert itself on. All other chances being equal, no one would doubt the capacity or versatility of the American mind, or its power to perceive and act upon the motives to interest. Circumstances, however, may forbid the prosecution of a particular branch of production in one section, when it is entirely feasible in another. Mississippi and Massachusetts, as their

respective interests are now adjusted, could ill afford to exchange occupations. The one will continue to require its surpluses to be invested in lands, and force to cultivate them. The other will just as imperiously require its surpluses to be invested in commerce and the mechanic arts, in order to retain and increase its population. The natural flow of capital will compel each section of country to adhere to its most profitable occupations. No power in legislation that could be made enduring would prevent this; nor, can legislation under free government be made to constrain or control capital in carrying on the business of subsistence. If the South, or any part of it, wishes to engage deeper in manufactures or mechanism, what political obstructions now exist?—Under a new confederacy, what additional motives could be matured and brought out in the hotbed of legislation?

The South desires more commerce—foreign, direct commerce. If there be southern capital to spare from agriculture, what is now in the way? What advantage has the North now, except the capital and facilities already embarked, and which the South could not embark for reasons mentioned. “But,” say men at the South, “we must have free trade.” Very well!—how are the revenues for the support of the new government to be raised? Say, by direct taxation. Then come the questions, whether they will be more or less in the aggregate; whether whether they will fall more or less upon property; or, more or less upon person than under the present system; and whether the one course in the collection be wiser than the other. Then, again, whether there be free trade or tariff duties in one confederacy, what difficulty in making the debenture system of the other confederacy conform to circumstances, so as to continue trade in its natural and most feasible channels? Look at the twelve thousand southern population in the State of New York, and mostly in the city of New York. Why did it go there, except for the purpose of gaining better access to northern capital, and northern facilities for doing southern trade? Look at northern men in southern cities; why did they go there, but for the purpose of obtaining better access to southern business through northern capital? Whether any government, capable of being formed, could at this day be so administered as to coerce the laws of trade, or motives to occupation, remains to be seen. The governments of Europe have experimented much in times past, and have all experimented themselves into the belief that a liberalized policy is best.

To go back a little: some of the statesmen of South Carolina affected to discover the seeds of an “irrepressible conflict,” at a much earlier day than Mr. Seward. They had witnessed the flow of southern population to the north, and the transfer of representation along with it. For many years past, have they affected to deplore a government of majorities. It was prophesied by them, that any material disturbance of the balance of power, would be the “knell for dissolving the Union.” The principles of the Roman and Grecian Republics have been admired and applauded, whilst Aristotle’s “theory of a perfect society” has been their text-book. Jefferson’s views, and the views of the old statesmen

of Virginia, have been denounced and repudiated. A government, founded on class, partly of *quasi* patrician, and partly of plebeian representation, has been broached. As incident to its anticipations, the reopening of the African slave trade has been urged, in order to supply more fully the necessary requirement for servile labor: the whole of this to be upheld and maintained by the broadest possible organization of military force. Here, then, is a suggested military republic, with a government of checks and balances in analogy to the English parliament; and all predicated on the supposed necessity, of not only governing the servile labor, but to place a barrier to the future influence of the non-slaveholding population.

It needs little reflection, to conclude that a government, with a privileged class of legislators, could not be formed in the Southern States. It is a sentiment inbred in the American population, and fortified by habit, to abhor political privilege, founded on class. It is hardly possible, that such an arrangement would be acquiesced in by South Carolina. Much less would it receive encouragement in Louisiana, Arkansas, or Texas. Without this feature, nothing could be gained for any particular class, that does not already exist under every State Government.

The reopening of the African slave trade, is a measure of such common aversion, that few, comparatively, until recently, have been its open advocates. That the project is now entertained by many, there is little doubt. That it is identified with the project of forming a Southern Confederacy, there is just as little. Aside from the question whether civilized nations would permit it; how would it affect the interests of the new military republic? Here are seven and one-half millions of white people without slaves. Many of them have already been made to believe, that if the barbarous hordes of Africa could be turned into the new confederacy, they also, could readily become slaveholders. Without weighing the probability of such a result, against the more probable monopoly by present slaveholders, it may be well to contemplate the effect of this new introduction of slaves upon their interests.

It is soon to become indispensable for the South to raise up new occupations, and profitable ones, too, for this seven and one-half millions of non-slaveholding population. If it is not done, much of this population will be obliged to go where such occupations are established. As a general thing, it would not be urged that this population has capital with which to embark, to much extent, in commerce, or manufactures. The capital is with the slaveholders, and consists mainly of lands and force to cultivate them. In case the slave trade is opened, there would be another draft on southern surpluses, already inadequate to absorb the increase of the negro force that is raised in the country. What encouragement, then, could manufacturers receive from southern capital? How could it be otherwise, than going from bad to worse, by impairing more and more the prospect of raising up new and profitable occupations.

Were the slaveholders and their servants separated from the rest of

the southern population, and the yearly product of that interest exhibited, the *per capita* ratio would stand much higher in favor of the slaveholders than would any other interest in the United States. Take the *per capita* product of the seven and one-half millions without servants, and it would stand miserably low in the comparison. Here is a disparity of most alarming regret. There is no subject wherein the slaveholder has so much cause of solicitude, as in the advancement of this non-slaveholding population. Without it, slavery has no police force adequate to uphold and maintain the institution. With causes of dissatisfaction and disparity, increasing from year to year with accumulating force, it may be well, in season, to avoid the consequences. It is of no avail to irritate this population into indiscriminate hostility to the North. That will not last long; for hostility in any direction will neither feed, clothe, or provide shelter. This hostility, with its unthinking attributes, may sway this population into assisting to establish a military despotism, having for its avowed object the government of the negroes: but, how will this feed, clothe, and sustain the non-slaveholding white population? With the principles of civil liberty now half demolished, and to be entirely stricken down under a military despotism; what good is to be accomplished by it to the great mass of the voting white population of the South? Profitable employment, not despotism, is what this population requires.

Examine the following table, taken from the report on the finances, and compiled under the direction of the late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Guthrie. It professes to exhibit the *per capita* production of each man, woman and child, white and black, in the respective states. It is inaccurate in some particulars that analysis might point out, but sufficiently correct to make an illustration.

The ratio of annual production to each man, woman and child, white and black, (exclusive of the gains, or earnings of trade and commerce,) is as follows:

Massachusetts.....	\$166 60	Wisconsin.....	\$68 41
Rhode Island.....	164 61	Mississippi.....	67 50
Connecticut.....	156 05	Iowa.....	65 47
California.....	149 60	Tennessee.....	63 10
New Jersey.....	120 82	Georgia.....	61 45
New Hampshire.....	117 17	Virginia.....	59 42
New York.....	111 94	South Carolina.....	56 91
Pennsylvania.....	99 30	Utah.....	56 62
Vermont.....	96 02	Alabama.....	55 72
Illinois.....	89 04	Florida.....	54 77
Missouri.....	88 06	Arkansas.....	52 04
Delaware.....	85 27	District of Columbia.....	52 00
Maryland.....	83 85	Texas.....	51 13
Ohio.....	75 82	North Carolina.....	49 38
Michigan.....	72 54	Minnesota.....	24 13
Kentucky.....	71 82	New Mexico.....	16 50
Maine.....	71 11	Oregon.....	233 56
Indiana.....	69 12		

This table carries its own commentary. It shows the result of putting the powers of nature into requisition through the ingenuity and invention of man; and, of making them tell on the business of subsistence through diversified industry. The degree of yearly income goes directly to the incidents of home, of comfort, of education, and independence; and, shall it not be said,—of contentment also. Is it not time that the southern political economist or statesman took matters into account, and resorted to some effective plan for profitable and diversified occupation? There are in the South no elements in population necessarily antagonistic; but, how soon will it be before these elements will become antagonistic, in case everything is forced into agriculture? Manufacturing requires little room to stand on. Commerce less:—Millions can subsist within small space, indifferent to the fact, whether the soil adjacent be productive or sterile. These are elements which the South must have, and they must be identified with a home feeling and interest, and a socially liberalized order in society that invites, and does not repel population. Not military despotism, with its crushing expenses, and still greater aptitudes to crush out civil liberty and contentment, but exactly the opposite of its whole train of evils, will be wanting.

How is this diversified industry in the South to be raised up? It will require a great amount of capital. It will require a large force of skilled labor from abroad to make the start; and, to assist by its skill and experience to raise up an army of skilled labor in the South. It will require years of patience, of encouragement, and of toilsome effort; but, that will be in nowise discouraging as long as every point gained in the right direction is immediately beneficial; and every success achieved, gives strength in achieving higher success. It must necessarily be the growth of time,—the length of that time, depending mainly on the treatment and encouragement that it receives, or is thrown around it. Manufacturing capital, like other capital is timid and cautious, and it will not go into places where it cannot carry skilled labor along with it. Skilled labor is intelligent and sensitive, and while it is conscious of standing on a high ground of usefulness in production, it feels and demands its claim to high respectability; and, cannot, and will not be divested of its manhood.

There is a phase wherein recent illiberality at the South, no matter from what cause originating, has worked consequences as baneful as its motives were questionable. The word went forth to "mob," "send out of the country," or, "hang every man" who was supposed to sympathize, or wish for the election of the Republican candidate. If half the representations of the southern press be true, then indeed has much murder been done, and much blood shed; not for crime, but for political preferences. Everywhere at the South has the story been told in the presence of negroes, that the great Republican party at the North were intent upon driving out slavery, and emancipating the negroes. These stories have been reiterated at the hotel tables, the bar-rooms, the hustings and corner groceries, and in the high-ways and by-ways. This

pretense has been made the apology for mobbing and hanging, and the sincerity of the declaration thus made manifest to the negro's mind by the seal of blood that accompanied it. Scarcely a negro in all the South but believes that such is the object of the Republican party. Thus we have it, the negro's mind contaminated with a false and dangerous delusion; made to look upon his master with distrust and enmity; and to look abroad for deliverance. Under this process the negro has begun to be a politician; and to be influenced by aspirations for freedom, for the sole reason that he was assured that a power was coming that would set him free. This state of the negro mind at the South is now viewed with horror, especially in those places where the black population much predominates. This is the chief reason for the recent transmission of arms South. Fear of insurrection, heightened into tormenting apprehension, now prevails; and, it is proposed to add negro desperation to the other ingredients by a severance of the Union. Perhaps wisdom would dictate that hurry is not the very best thing under existing circumstances:—that if any importance is to be attached to negro aspirations, it would be quite as well to allow Mr. Lincoln's administration to dispel the delusion.

One object of the preceding remarks has been to show that there is no conflict, political, social, or otherwise, necessarily existing between the systems of free and slave labor, as established with us. Instead of being at war with each other, exactly the reverse is true. Look at agriculture, what conflict has arisen there? Look at commerce; what conflict there?—at mechanism; what there?—at any branch of industry or trade; and what there? Every occupation, productive of the means of subsistence, shows its degree of dependence, and invites harmony instead of contention:—nor are the motives to humanity in avoiding collision, less than the material interests. Take all the substantial interests in the land, agricultural, commercial, mechanical, scientific, moral, and educational:—in their combination they are all peacemakers; but they sometimes have more than they can do to keep the peace. Political economy is a peacemaker; but it seldom holds its own in the wranglings of party ferment. However far we may look, we shall find the truth to be, if we find it at all, that everything of utility can be made to harmonize with utility; but there is a condition precedent, founded in the law of nature, and equally applicable to everything. It is embraced in two words: **BE JUST.**

Another object in the preceding pages has been to illustrate the necessity and justice of giving fair and equal protection to every interest that has been legitimized by the Constitution and laws of the United States. As incident to the argument, the motives to humanity and sound policy have been hinted at, and the basis suggested upon which it is supposed that sound thinking and humane reflection may coincide. This basis requires something of importance to be done, and forborne, on all sides. There is nothing in the way of adjusting existing interests, and existing rights, unless the attempt be insisted on to re-open the African slave trade, which is now believed to be the procuring cause of the present turbulence.

The task of reviewing the progress of this baleful question is attended with the hazard of overdrawing as to the facts; or, of falling materially short of the actual state of things. The difficulty lies, not so much in establishing the fact that it is a project of some years' standing, as in discriminating with regard to the classes engaged in it. Enough is known with certainty to base conjectures, and to afford illustrations as to the fearful extent to which the purposes and combination have already been carried.

Let it not be supposed that this project had its origin with the substantial slaveholders. Consult them individually, and nine-tenths, perhaps, would declare it an evil which of all evils they would most dread. They are lovers of stable government; understand well the united opposition of the civilized world; can anticipate the intensified turmoil that would unavoidably result to the whole South, should the effort by force be made and insisted upon. They understand well the danger of disturbing the status of the black man, South, in case of anarchy and civil war. To use the language of a worthy man (now deceased), "we are between two fires—here are the abolitionists on one hand, and these creatures who would open to us the book of evils on the other. The abolitionists ascribe all the extravagance and ruffianism in the land to slaveholders, and we are obliged to bear the discredit. We are made to look like demons in the eyes of the world. We cannot quarrel with this class of men who are working discredit on the institution, for we have them right amongst us, and are more afraid of them than we are of the abolitionists, for they are at a distance. Turn which way we will, we hardly know what to do." This was said by a member of the Texas legislature in 1855, and had reference, amongst other things, to an article in the *State Gazette*, impliedly advocating the importation of negroes from Africa. It now becomes necessary to take the distinction between the lovers of the Union and stable government at the South, and the enemies of the Union, both North and South.

It is matter of history that between the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and 1808, an accelerated impetus was given to the African slave trade through northern ships and capital; that after 1808, and after the passage of the law by Congress making it the highest penal offence for American citizens to engage, or be interested in the traffic, much of the capital was transferred under various disguises, and employed in furnishing Brazil. Since the abolition of the trade by Brazil, it has been continued through the connivance of the Spanish authorities in supplying Cuba. It has often been boasted that the trade, notwithstanding the rigorous penalties, had scarcely been lessened. Impunity seems to have generated the idea, and encouraged it into the formation of a project to re-adopt and legitimate the trade—the trial to be first made "in the Union;" that unsuccessful, to be made on the strength of a southern confederacy, "out of the Union."

It would contribute much to quiet disputes, and to promote the welfare of the Union, and all its legitimate interests, could this African

slave-trade, capital and influence be made to stand out, in order that its political connections might be examined into. That, however, is impossible. Enough may be learned by patience and examination, to disclose the important fact that it lies at the bottom of nearly all our present difficulties; that it is the only tenacious disturber of the public peace.

The African slave-trade influence, has proceeded step by step, not only with its business of proselytism; but also to sound public opinion as it advanced. Its discretion has also been taxed as to the time when it should be made an open question. The first answer in South Carolina was, "not now." The same answer was given in Georgia. One southern Convention, called for the ostensible purpose of encouraging southern trade, dealt daintily with the subject, and laid it over. A subsequent Convention recommended it, but left the manner in which it was to be accomplished indefinite. The subject was broached in Texas under the auspices of Senator Wigfall in a speech at Galveston, in 1859, and the speech, together with approving editorial comments, circulated through the State. In the meantime, the experiment was made to introduce a cargo of slaves into Georgia, with the avowed object of testing the question whether the law of Congress could be enforced. In connection with this experiment, the supposed pliancy of the Executive and his Cabinet was openly talked about. The possible subserviency of the Supreme Court of the United States was hinted at. Organizations were said to be formed in the Cotton States to forward the question in the South; at the same time leading individuals became identified with men at the North in the numerous experiments that have been detected on the coast of Africa and elsewhere.

In order to overcome the objections which the civilized world had raised up against this traffic, it was supposed to be necessary to bring theology into its service. "It was vouchsafed to the children of Israel," said the kidnapper, "that they should take the heathen for an inheritance. This is the higher law, and the Constitution and law of Congress must give way."

"The abolitionists," says the kidnapper, "are attacking the institution of slavery on religious grounds, therefore we must raise up a Bible doctrine in favor of slavery." It was thus the twaddle commenced about the divinity of slavery. We now have a fashionable theology in some quarters, based on kidnapping.

Another object of the kidnapping influence has been to brutalize public opinion. There was too much of the sensibility of Washington, of Madison, of Jefferson, of Patrick Henry and George Mason afloat, to suit the convenience of these projectors. Public opinion must be altered. The negro must be stricken down to the lowest and most unalterable degree of degradation. His status of *quasi* citizenship, acquired in the free States, where the policy leans to the protection and education of all classes, must be attacked. The Federal Judiciary must be made subservient to this influence. How far success has been achieved in the direction of the Judiciary, now stands upon the judicial records. To what extent brutality has been cultivated in another di-

rection, is well exemplified by an article published in the Times of the 19th inst. It comes from its correspondent, now at Charleston.

To show the magnanimity of the people of South Carolina, I have only to refer to a bill introduced into the House a few days since by a member from the interior, having for its object the selling of all free persons of color found in the State on and after the 1st of January next. This bill was referred to the Committee on Colored Population, who, after giving the subject the most deliberate investigation, reported yesterday through their Chairman, the Honorable J. HARLESTON READ. The Committee report against the passage of the bill, and assign various reasons for so doing. They assert that the free colored persons of the State number not less than ten thousand; that they are a thrifty, orderly and well-disposed class, and that they are owners of a vast amount of property both real and personal. These people, say the Committee, have not come to the shores of South Carolina suddenly, but many of them, as well as their ancestors, were manumitted for their fidelity and loyalty to the State; there are cases, even, where persons of this class have been purchased and manumitted by the State Legislature, and there lives at this time one remarkable proof of this statement in the person of PETER DESVERNEYS, who, for his fidelity and loyalty to the State, was purchased, manumitted, and now enjoys the privilege of a place on the pension roll, and is, in fact, the recipient of one of the largest pensions on the roll of the State. The Committee say there is now a memorial before the Legislature, from the citizens of Charleston, numerously signed by those of the highest worth and respectability—slaveholders by inheritance and purchase—remonstrating in the strongest language against this proposed wrong to free negroes, and praying the Legislature to abstain from this act of injustice and cruelty. The petitioners claim for them that there are in that city many of the class “good citizens, patterns of industry, sobriety, and irreproachable conduct.”

The Committee state that, apart from these considerations there are difficulties of a practical character in the way of those who advocate this bill. The free colored persons in the city of Charleston alone pay taxes on \$1,561,870 worth of property, including slaves, the latter amounting in value to three hundred thousand dollars, and the aggregate taxes reaching \$27,209 18. The Committee ask very properly:

“What will become of the one million and a half of property which belongs to them in Charleston alone, to say nothing of their property elsewhere in the State? Can it enter into the mind of any Carolina legislator to confiscate this property and put it in the Treasury? We forbear to consider anything so full of injustice and wickedness. Whilst we are battling for our rights, liberties and institutions, can we expect the smiles and countenance of the Arbiter of all events, when we make war on the impotent and unprotected, enslave them against all justice, and rob them of the property acquired by their own honest toil and industry, under your former protection and sense of justice?”

The exhibition of the pitiable specimen of human frailty who introduced this bill in the South Carolina Legislature, is merely to indicate the class to which he belongs. He claims kindred only to that class of stupid but ambitious fools, who estimate public opinion by the appearance of noisy ruffianism floating on the surface of society. This individual presupposed that ruffianism had become fashionable as a public sentiment. He was led into his recommendation of atrocity by the same delusion that now influences the slave-trade advocates in the cotton States, and who are working a disgrace upon slaveholders, as unjust as the cause of it is wicked. This incident is illustrative of something

more than a mere phase of brutality. It shows that, whilst the ruffian influence that introduced the bill is totally unworthy of political trust anywhere, Mr. Read and his associates, who reported against the bill, with fair influence to protect them, can be trusted everywhere.

To carry out the political drama of the African slave-trade projectors, it was presupposed to be necessary to have a united South. It was known to be impossible to unite the South on this question; or, perhaps, to unite the people of a single State, should the question be made an open one, and fair deliberation permitted. It was deemed necessary, in order to unite the South, to raise and continue the cry of "Northern Aggression." What this northern aggression consisted of was of but little consequence, and to this day remains an unexplained myth, unless it is found in the fact that two million people of southern extraction have found homes and hospitable treatment on northern soil. To effect something that should look like southern unity, it was deemed essential to strike down, or paralyze, free discussion. No opinion was to be tolerated that did not comport with the views of those who sought to regulate public opinion by force. The press, ever timid, was to be forced into pusillanimity. If people were found unwilling to execrate the North, or disposed to vindicate it against the accusation of manufactured falsehood, the policy of the kidnappers required that they should be mobbed into compliance, or be mobbed out of the country. Counsels of foresight and moderation were sufficient cause for displacing southern statesmen from the Senate of the United States. Nor has this been all. It was feared that a national administration would be brought into power that would be competent to grapple with the kidnapping force, and that would have the inclination to do it. This, it was well known, would put an end to the African slave-trade project "in the Union;" hence the alternative of so shaping the tactics as to provide for it "out of the Union."

The preparation of public opinion in the cotton States for a dissolution of the Union, has been connected with a process of open brutality hitherto unknown in our country. It would be sickening to detail the proceedings of mobs, and the murders that have been committed, in order to force the population of the cotton States into the proper state of pusillanimity. The process of dissolution must be suddenly effected, or not at all. Men had cast their die on the success of the project. Their allies in the North have been brought into requisition. Iago-like, they too have aimed to intensify the jealousy of well-disposed southern people as to the aims of the Republican party. They have apologized for southern extravagance, justified southern mobs, extenuated southern murder in its process of regulating public opinion, and have left nothing undone that could by any possibility contribute to widen the supposed breach existing between the North and South. Southern slave-trade emissaries and their northern allies have for months sat in conclave in the city of New York. The public has been astonished at the emanations put forth by them and through their influence.

The most bitter denunciations of all, and most characteristic, have

been those made against Gen. Houston. Without Texas for a stamping ground, the African slave trade would be a diminutive business. Gen. Houston was known to entertain insuperable objections to this inhuman traffic. His occupancy of the chair of State was a stumbling-block to any precipitate action. It was well known that the old hero was a lover of the South—the whole South, and all its legitimate interests and institutions; but it was equally well known that he was also a lover of his whole country, and that he could feel, and did feel, as just a sympathy and interest for white humanity in its shirt-sleeves as any other industrial agency. He could look beyond the confines of the institution in connection with which he was raised. He loved the Union, the government, the States, and the whole of that grand system of empire, in the establishing, maintaining, and bringing together of which he had contributed so much. It was for this, and nothing else, that General Houston received the appellation of “hoary-headed traitor” in the Senate of the United States. It was for this, simply, that the “regulators of public opinion” in Texas have threatened to send a mob to the Capitol of the State to hang its executive chief magistrate. The nations of Europe are now listening with astonishment, and wondering “if this has become treason,”—“if patriotism such as this has become political crime” in America!

To such a degree has violence for opinion's sake become the order of the day in the cotton States, that none of the old Virginia statesmen, whose names are mentioned, stripped of the prestige of their names, could there express their sentiments without being mobbed. Washington could hardly compromise hanging by an alternative of tar and feathers. One of the present senators of Virginia would do little injustice to his imagination should he console his pride of ancestry, in the vision of a great man—a noble grandfather—dangling at a rope's end from the branch of some tree in the swamps of Mississippi. Gradually has personal security in the cotton States ceased. How its restoration is to be brought about is a momentous question for the South.

Presupposing that the project of Disunion had its origin in, and that it is inseparably connected with its adjunct, the African slave trade, it may be well, perhaps, to calculate the probabilities of success in carrying out the latter project. The policy has been declared, and the sentiment fortified by all the experience necessary, that America must be no further peopled through importation by an element which cannot be citizenized by common consent. It needs no argument to show that such is the fixed and unalterable decree of public opinion in the governing force of the Union. No sectional attempt to violate this decree of the governing power—the people—will be suffered to succeed without achieving success as “the last conclusion of force.” It matters not how extensive the combination in the cotton States, England and France will not be less imperative than the middle and northern States of this Union. It admits of no conjecture as to who would have the controlling diplomatic influence with civilized nations; and just as little conjecture as to the result. There was never a more foolish delusion than has

operated on the minds of those who have made the re-establishment of this interdicted traffic the basis of proposed revolution.

The influence that has thus far projected and carried forward this delusive scheme has received its main support from the non-slaveholding population in the cotton States. Many of this class have been made to believe that wealth, and gain, and advantage would flow to them through this traffic, were it once opened. Ambition of gain in these deluded people has been wrought upon by the projectors until their ecstasy has become wild in its defiance of the General Government. Many of them now believe themselves commissioned to perpetrate crime and murder upon those who would adhere to the incoming administration. What will be the condition of those who have raised up this cruel delusion, when the delusion shall have passed away? Who will then be made responsible for the mobs, the murder, and the crime that shall have resulted? These are fearful questions for that class of men who shall be found to have been identified with the conspiracy. The attention of the nation, and of other nations, is now being directed to the point of discrimination between actual grievance and hollow complaint. The question is being examined into with all the astuteness that the affliction of the country demands. It will soon be known whether the American mind, as well as that of other nations, can discriminate between revolution based on a struggle to throw off oppression, and rank rebellion, based on the motives to opening and legitimating the African slave trade. Take away this foul project, and the clamor of Disunion will abate of its own accord.

Let the country know the nature and weakness of this African slave-trade influence, and the people will soon learn to regard the strength of Disunion in its true light. We are to have no Disunion, amounting to practical separation, for the reason, that no practical motive for it exists in any part of the United States. People may as well go about their business, with the fact fixed in their minds, that we are to have stable government. They need not give way to the bugbear, that this mighty fabric of nationality is to be broken up through the influence of a few abolitionists on the one hand, and a kidnapping strength on the other; nor by misapprehension manufactured for party purposes, and having aims built upon the desire for office. The people cannot afford it; nor, will the governing power of the country allow it, NORTH OR SOUTH.

A few plain words with regard to party organization:—An old democrat is now compelled to acknowledge that the party to which he ever belonged (until ejected by the African slave-trade influence) had become incompetent to govern the country. The cause of distraction in the party, and irreconcilable hatred of its parts towards each other, has been this same African slave-trade project, and the opposition, in the party, to it. To speak in a pickwickian sense, without meaning disrespect, Mr. Douglas and some others have "eaten dirt," in their endeavors to conciliate it. That Mr. Douglas finished his last repast with a dessert of rotten eggs, might have been a little astonishing to himself, though it would not have been so to some others more conversant with its

tactics. He found the tenacity for adhering to this delusion much stronger, than its opposition to the election of Mr. Lincoln. In fact, Mr. Lincoln's election was desired by the African trade politicians in the cotton States, in order that it might be made an effective pretense for breaking up the Union. Under those circumstances, how would it have been possible for the Democratic Party to have harmonized on any line of policy. The kidnapping influence has had, at least, half possession of Mr. Buchanan. The world is now debating, whether he is more an object of scorn or pity. Had the opposition to the Republican Party succeeded, on what basis could harmony have been secured, except by encouraging the African slave trade "in the Union?" A candid contemplation cannot fail to convince the American people, that the Democratic Party, temporarily, at least, was too much out of joint for any effective purpose in the administration of the government.

"What will the Republican Party do?" is a question that is often asked. The writer can answer on one point. It will be a unit on the subject of the African slave trade. It will co-operate with the democracy in pursuing that project "in the Union"—"out of the Union"—on the coast of Africa, Cuba, Florida, in the Gulf of Mexico, or elsewhere, with all the power of extinction at the command of the government. Either its manhood is mistaken, or it will make no truce; encourage no negotiation; make no promise to that portion of population, hitherto called American citizens, but who propose to take themselves out of the pale of civilization. How long time it will require to lop off this excrescence of the Democratic Party, so as to enable it to harmonize, and to fit it for governing, is a little conjectural. Perhaps four years will prove sufficient. When it is done, the counsel employed to take the appeal for "the reversal of public opinion," may proceed to move for the decree. Not before.

COSMOPOLITAN.